1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946
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312
621
362

MAP 5.—The town of Cherán, showing street names and the *barrio* numbers. C, *cuartel*, or *barrio*; M, *manzana*, or block. Numbers indicate the town numbering system.

[p. 11]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

632 forest fire damaged a considerable area and the forestry engineers called the representative down severely for not having been more efficient in fighting the fire. This attitude was hardly justified in view of the strong Tarascan tradition of burning the pastures in the winter.

Illegal exploitation of the forests is also blamed on the representative. Two major cases occurred during the period field work was under way, one involving illegal cutting of railroad ties, the other, illegal sale of lumber. Responsibility for failure to prevent both infractions was laid to the laxness of the *representante*. In connection with one of these cases, a town *junta* was called to discuss what should be done, but no decision was reached and the matter was finally dropped.

632 It was evidently felt that the *representante* would be involved in boundary disputes if they 578 affected public lands. The two disputes existing in 1940, however, apparently affected only lands in private ownership. The dispute with Arantepacua was in process of settlement with a compromise being made between the two claims. As there was only a question of which town would get credit for the taxes paid, the dispute was not bitter. The quarrel with the former *tenencia* of Cheranástico, however, was much more prolonged and bitter. Apparently Cheranástico claimed some of the best agricultural lands of the lower plain as community property. It was, however, owned in individual holdings by owners who all had registered titles. Consequently, Cheranástico has accomplished nothing, but every time there was a new governor or other governmental change, the people of Cheranástico made another attempt.

BARRIO FUNCTIONS AND COMMUNAL IMPROVEMENTS

632 In addition to the function of the *barrio* or *cuartel* as an administrative device as described 621 above, certain public improvements are made through the *barrio* mechanism. In this the *barrios* do not act independently but merely as instrumentalities of the *municipio*. No informant had ever heard of a *barrio* doing anything on its own initiative.

632 The major duty performed by the *barrio* is 621 the maintenance of the water system. Each 312 *barrio* has a section of the aqueduct within the

632 town (not the pipe line to the edge of town but
621 the system of hollowed logs which conducts
312 water to the center of town) for which it is responsible. Upon notification that repairs are needed or that logs must be replaced, the *barrio* chief notifies men in his *barrio* of the work needed and the time. This notification may come from the *síndico* (or his *veedor*), or any person noticing something wrong may report it to the *municipio*. The *barrio* not only provides labor but must raise funds if equipment or materials are needed. *Barrio* I is responsible for the section from the cement water tanks to the street called Arista. *Barrio* II is responsible for the section from Arista to Pensador, *barrio* III for the section from Pensador to Olvide, and *barrio* IV for the section from Olvide to the pipe line.

The work is done under the direction of the *síndico*. Usually 24 *comisionados* are named for each log trough needed. Eight men are responsible for cutting the log and hollowing it out; 8 more bring the log down from the mountains, and 8 others put it in place.

632 In addition, each *barrio* has responsibility for
621 certain other public works. For example,
[491] *barrio* III is responsible for maintaining two bridges on the road to Zacapu.

[767] Still another *barrio* duty is cleaning the graveyard of weeds and brush in preparation for the Day of the Dead. The cemetery is divided into four squares corresponding to the four *barrios*, and the young men from each *barrio* are assigned to a section. In 1940, in *barrio* III, having the most numerous population, each youth had a strip 4 paces wide by 65 paces long to clear, while youths of other *barrios* had strips from 6 to 8 paces wide. *Barrio* IV, although having a population as large as *barrio* II and larger than *barrio* I, took a half day longer to do its part and the young men were teased about it.

632 The maintenance of the pipe line is a sore
621 point, evidently. The original pipe line was
312 installed by the State or Federal Government.
653 Some maintenance is done by the *municipio*, but the line was in bad condition in 1940 and needed replacing. Even more interest, however, was shown in replacing the present wooden aqueduct with a pipe line and perhaps extending it to some other parts of town. It was

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632 estimated that the project of merely replacing
621 the wooden aqueduct would cost between $2,500
312 and $3,000, and efforts were being made to get
653 the Federal Government to provide the money. Actually the job could have been done by an assessment little larger than that called for by the two main fiestas of the town, but such an idea had not occurred to anyone. This feeling that major improvements should be made by outside agencies is a common one in Mexico.

377 This attitude was somewhat reinforced by
632 the action of the Federal Government in ex-
653 tending a power line to the town and supplying
621 it with street lighting. In this case, it is true, the town was required to provide the posts for the power system. *Comisionados* were named who cut the posts and charred the ends under the direction of the *síndico*. However, this involved expenditure of labor rather than of money.

491 A number of road repair jobs are undertaken
632 from time to time. In 1940, in preparation for
621 the harvest, the community repaired part of the road toward Nahuatzen. A new entry into town was made which avoided the necessity of crossing a bridge over the southern *barranca*. The existing bridge was in bad repair, and replacement was thus postponed.

ELECTIONS

632 Elections in Cherán ostensibly follow regular
666 legal forms. Extensive and nearly complete
662 lists of voters are prepared by the municipal officials. Some 2 or 3 weeks before the election the mayor calls a town meeting to nominate candidates. The mayor asserted that everyone was invited in 1940 but that very few attended. Most of those, he insisted, had been rounded up by the police. Others felt that only the most influential people in town were invited. In either case, apparently only about 50 persons attended. As at the 1940 election *barrios* II and IV were to elect members of the *ayuntamiento*, two tickets were nominated. These tickets were forwarded to the State offices of the PRM (*Partido Revolucionario Mexicano*) in Morelia, and the second of the two tickets was approved as the official PRM ticket. This must have been an act of prestidigitation on the part of the State officials, for there was nothing to choose between the two tickets and the State

796 latter are given to the girl by her relatives. Her father and mother present her with 1 bag and 1 cloth, but the rest, as many as 20 of each, are presented by her grandparents and cousins. At the top of the cross and at the end of each arm are fastened small sprays of green palm. On Palm Sunday this cross is carried by the boy.

The girl carries a stick, usually of oak, about 796 2 yards high. Hung to this is every kind of 482 fruit, especially tropical fruits, all provided by the boy. These may include a bunch of bananas, some coconuts, and perhaps a watermelon. Or the girl may carry a watermelon, together with some honeycombs, on her back. Often she can scarcely carry the load.

There is much competition between the [621] *barrios* in this regard (the only hint of *barrio* competition secured). Each looks to see which girl is most laden with things, which girl has been able to make the largest balls of pinole and decorate them best, and which has the most grandparents and cousins (and hence the most bags and tortilla cloths).

On the afternoon of Palm Sunday all go to 796 the little rise in the road toward Nahuatzen (the road to the hot country) beyond the bridge at the edge of the town, and from there all go together to the church. The boy and girl from each *barrio* have their companions, all relatives. Those relatives of the girl who have given a bag or a cloth and those relatives of the boy who have given a honeycomb for the girl to carry are adorned with the *gorditos*. The four boys together will have hired musicians, and many others come to see and hear. About 4 o'clock they all reach the church; they go inside for a moment and then return home, where they divide the things among the relatives who have helped them or accompanied them. There is no special ceremony in the church on this day.

During Holy Week a Mass is held every day in the church. The Tenebrae are also represented. All the candles are put out. Sulfur is burned and bombs are exploded to represent the lightning. Then the candles are relighted with an ordinary wax match.

Thursday the image of Christ is placed in a cage of bars. It is guarded by a number of persons representing the Jews, who are dressed in common-colored women's dresses and hats

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754 magic would have worked against him. He was said not to have been bothered after this, but he warned Agustín in our presence against giving a coin to a stranger who seemed very friendly, as he might merely be wishing for sweat to bewitch him.

The reason Agustín's father could deal with witches so effectively was that he had been immunized against witches. A friendly witch had wrapped him from head to foot in string soaked in snake oil and other things. He wore the string for 2 days and then was told not to bathe for another week. Agustín knew no other details, but shortly before the study closed he admitted that immediately after his arrival in Cherán the family had hired a witch to immunize him. Beyond stating that it was only a temporary and simple immunization, Agustín would give no further details. Ultimately, it was intended that he have the more complete treatment.

The fact that the Rangel family left Cherán after the alleged bewitchment mentioned above and had the son immunized immediately after their return lends support to the belief that the family left town because of witchcraft.

754 157 621 Data are too scanty to form any reliable hypothesis about the effects of witchcraft in Cherán. Nevertheless, an attractive theory might be developed that witchcraft accounts for some of the personality traits in Cherán and more particularly for the prevalence of walled yards and the general unwillingness to invite strangers or little-known persons inside the yard gate. It should not be overlooked, though, that the exclusive character of the Cherán family or household grouping may also be accounted for in terms of the more urban character of the settlement.

754 Two other items should be added to this discussion. It was reported that some witches had a white powder which they threw into people's faces. The powder instantly disappears inside and the persons become ill. Good witches may cure this sickness.

791 Although not considered witches, there are women who tell fortunes with cards. One woman in *barrio* III is said to be able to tell where lost cattle are and, if they have been stolen, who the thief is.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.215a]

252 extensively in all La Cañada towns and is much
262 liked.

One of the favorite meat dishes in Chilchota is not unlike the čurípo of the Tarascans and is called "*espinazo.*" It is a broth made from the backbone of the pig, flavored with chile and including cooked bitter prickly pears known as jococoxtles. The broth is usually accompanied by boiled rice.

237 Not much sausage is made in Chilchota, but
252 the blood of the pig is greatly liked, both in
262 Chilchota and the Tarascan towns of La
[text continues on top of p.215b]

APPENDIX 2

THE CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION OF CHILCHOTA

121 The following information on the ceremonial organization of Chilchota was collected by Pedro Carrasco. Due to political struggles,
[578] the ceremonial organization was not in existence from 1932 to 1940. The data given are representative of conditions as they existed before 1932, amplified by data on the partial revival of the ceremonial life of the town in 1940 (the differences are indicated by past and present tenses). The organization and the observances present many interesting parallels and differences from Cherán, particularly in view of the fact that Chilchota is a Mestizo town today. Carrasco found only one man of about 90 who had been reared in a Tarascan-speaking family; nevertheless, culturally Chilchota evidently is still somewhat of a Tarascan town. Many Tarascan words survive and such old institutions as the hospital are better preserved than in many Tarascan towns.

796 The ceremonial organization is linked with
621 division of the town into *barrios* of San Juan and San Pedro. Two other *barrios* exist, Uren and Chapala, but they appear to be recent additions and, unless otherwise specified, only the first two *barrios* are referred to. The principal
796 ceremonial offices and their relation to the
624 *barrios* are as follows:

Office	*Barrio*
Mayordomo of the Hospital	One year from San Juan, the next from San Pedro

[text continues on middle of p.215b]

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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[P. 6 contains no text]

1

INTRODUCTION

131 The Tarascans are one of the principal Indian groups on the central plateau of
[161] Mexico, numbering around 55,000 in 1940. They occupy the central region of the State of Michoacan, mainly in the Lake Pátzcuaro area and the Sierra west of it.
● 621 They live in sixty-six villages *(pueblos)*[1] and a number of dependent hamlets
[101] *(ranchos)* amidst similar settlements of mestizo Spanish-speaking people.[2]

171 Except for language, the differences be-
178 tween the Tarascans and the nearby rural mestizos are not very great from either the cultural or any other point of view. Four centuries of living together with and under people of European culture (Spanish colonial or modern Mexican) have made the Tarascans considerably interdependent with Mexican national life, and their culture, if analyzed in traits and institutions, might show more of a Spanish than an Indian heritage. The loss of Tarascan speech and consciousness is only one more step in the process of greater integration and acculturation into the Mexican nation, and many of the mestizo villages near the Tarascans have undergone this transformation only recently.

This interrelation with the rest of the nation is seen not only in the content of their culture but also in their participation in the social and political conflicts of Mexico.

668 National issues which have agitated Mexico in later years have their local manifestation in Tarascan towns. Conflicts around land and church rage in many Tarascan villages.

While the basic issues of landownership arise out of local conditions, the local groups fighting those issues are connected with national political groups. *Agraristas* (peasants claiming or receiving lands under the agrarian laws emanating from the Revolution) are found in many villages. Lately the Catholic nationalistic movement of the *sinarquistas* has found strong support among the Tarascans. Their different allegiances make for opposition or
[609] support of the national and state governments and local agencies, influencing the

1. The terms village and town are used indistinctively throughout this paper to translate the Spanish *pueblo*.
2 West, 1948, 1.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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The Indian Village Communities of Mexico

128 The starting point of our discussion will be the Indian village communities formed after the Spanish conquest by a blend of Spanish and Indian institutions. These communities will be described in their general traits, common to all of central Mexico, in order to provide a picture of the national scene, and also because concrete illustrative material for the Tarascans is on some points unavailable at the present time.

175 Before the Spanish conquest, most of the Indians in the central valleys of Mexico, including the Tarascans, were organized in 621 communities, their members tied together both by kinship bonds and by owning land in common.[1] Such communities were called *calpulli* in Nahuatl and *calpul*, *barrio*, or *pueblo* in Spanish sources.

The larger political units were formed by a number of calpulli brought together under a common government by a ruling nobility.

175 The Indians of the calpulli, or commoners, were subordinate to the nobility.[2] The 565 nobles held the high positions in government, war and religion. The commoners had to pay tribute to them either in kind or in work. This labor was employed for public works or in tilling the land attached to offices held by the nobles.

[423] In central Mexico the nobles could own [427] private land which was worked by a third social class of tenants (Nahuatl, *mayeque*). There is no conclusive evidence that this type of landownership existed in Michoacan,[3] although it is highly probable.[4]

[563] After the conquest, the Spaniards replaced the Indian nobility as the dominant class in society. The commoners' tribute now went to the Spanish state or to individual conquistadores (encomenderos). The Spaniards also owned land privately in contrast to the communal ownership of Indian communities. They engaged in agriculture (mainly in cash crops such as sugar), cattle raising, and mining. They held all governmental positions and to

1. For the Tarascans, see Relación, 1869, 15, 21, 29, 53.
2. For Michoacan, see Relación, 1869, 13ff.; Zurita, 1891, 166.
3. Zurita, 1891, 166.
4. Relación, 1861, 34.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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175 565 some extent they also engaged in manufacturing and trade.

Within this system the Indians comprised a special class or caste under a different system of law which gave them specific duties and protections.

[621] The Indian political units were either kept or rearranged through numerous resettlements and patterned after the Spanish township. These communities, after the contact period of the sixteenth century, with their special type of economy and government, form the immediate background for modern developments.

Within the general economic system of the colony, the rôle of the Indian was that of paying tribute and supplying labor to Spanish enterprise. Every Indian town [651] had to pay a fixed tribute on a per capita basis, for which the whole community was held responsible. It was also the town's re- [467] sponsibility to supply a definite number of laborers to be hired by Spanish entrepreneurs. This type of forced labor with pay was called *repartimiento*, *mita*, or *coatequil*.

Indians who left their communities to work permanently in Spanish enterprises, either as free or debt-bond laborers, mixed with Negroes and whites, forming the so-called *castas*, and usually lost their Indian culture and language.

175 621 Throughout post-Conquest times, Indian communities had a great degree of economic and cultural autonomy, but they never were closed units. They comprised only one of several different types of social units in Mexico (haciendas, mining communities, urban centers) which made up Mexican society.

The Indian communities were called, in Spanish, *pueblos* or *repúblicas de indios* (Indian towns or republics). We will use village community or land-holding village as terms known in sociological literature for similar units in other parts of the world. They are Sorokin's Type 1 of rural communities: "a village community of peasant joint owners."[5]

175 621 565 These communities were to some extent economically self-sufficient but by trading, paying tribute, supplying labor to Spanish enterprise, and losing individuals to the growing free lower classes (*castas*), they

5. Sorokin, 1930, 1:560.

175 fitted into the class system of colonial
621 Mexico.
[565] Every Indian community was also a cultural unit and had a large degree of cultural distinctiveness. These cultures, however, were also strongly influenced by national, economic, governmental and religious institutions. They are characterized as folk or local peasant cultures.

The other main type of social unit in
175 rural Mexico was the privately owned es-
621 tate, in Spanish, *hacienda*. Haciendas can
423 be included in Sorokin's Type 5 of rural communities: "a latifundian, manorial, or large estate type of rural agregate (privately owned)."[6] The conflict between these two types of social units, pueblo and hacienda, is the essence of the history of rural Mexico. During this conflict the village communities receded in the face of the growing haciendas, while within the villages the trend was toward individualization of landownership and toward becoming Sorokin's Type 3, *i. e.* "a rural aggregate of individual farmer-owners."[7]

* * *

The colonial village community was the
175 primary economic unit, to some extent self-
621 sufficient but never completely so. In a
423 society based on agriculture, it was the main landowning unit. Every village community had the following kinds of communal land: *fundo legal*, the site on which the town was built; *ejido*, land for the common use of all the villagers (mainly woods and pasture lands); *tierras de repartimiento*, land owned by the community but allotted for the personal use of the villagers; and finally *propios*, lands which were communally worked, or more frequently rented out. The produce of these was kept as a community fund (*caja de comunidad*) and used to defray municipal expenses.[8] Important among these expenses
175 are those related to the organization of the
[241] cult and the support of the Church.[9]
[463] Agriculture was the economic basis of most of these communities. Many household crafts were also of great importance. In some industries, products were consumed in the household; in others, they
[438] were traded over certain areas. There was much town specialization in those crafts which involved intense commerce.

For various reasons differences in wealth
175 came to exist within the community: The
556 Indian nobility kept some of their private

6. *Ibid.*, 563.
7. *Ibid.*, 562.
8. Mendieta y Núñez, 1934, 53-70; Haring, 1947, 174-5.
9. Chávez Orozco, 1934, *passim*; 1943, Chapter 3.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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175 [556] holdings.[10] Commerce also must have caused some inequality in wealth. Furthermore, it seems that the lands for distribution were not redistributed at certain intervals of time. Private property prevailed within the community, although the property title was vested in the community and outsiders were excluded from ownership. This internal organization of private property among community members allowed some concentration of land. From early times all these factors produced differences in wealth within the villages, but the communal ownership of land, always basic, maintained the solidarity of the villagers, as against outsiders.

175 423 [621]

175 624 The Indian communities were provided with an adaptation of the system of government in Spanish townships:

> "From one to four Indian *regidores* and one or two Indian *alcaldes*, depending on the size of the pueblo, were to be chosen each year in the presence of the priest and the local *corregidor* (later subdelegate), and relieved during their term of office of tribute and personal services. The alcaldes shared jurisdiction with the hereditary native chief or *cacique*, were aided by one or more Indian *alguaciles*, sometimes collected the local tribute, and had authority to make arrests and punish minor offenses such as drunkenness and failure to attend mass."[11]

175 624 565 The actual functioning of this system is documented for early times.[12] With the Spanish conquest the higher strata of Indian society and the related culture disappeared, but the Spaniards also granted to the Indian nobles, mainly to the town chiefs (caciques), privileges which allowed them to survive for a long time as a privileged group within the Indian communities.

175 623 This surviving Indian nobility first had the prerogative of filling higher offices in town government. Conflict on this point arose very early because of the impoverishment of the Indian nobles and the commoners' reluctance to obey them.[13] On the other hand we know that Indian nobles kept a great amount of wealth and power until the early nineteenth century.[14] The scanty evidence as yet published suggests that the system by which Indian nobles controlled higher offices gradually gave way to a system where the ex-officers

10. Zavala and Costelo, 1939-48, *passim*; Humboldt, 1: 429-30.
11. Haring, 1947, 174.
12. Chávez Orozco, 1943, ch. 1.
13. Zurita, 1891, 100-108; 168-169; 188-189.
14. Humboldt, 1811, 1:422-3.

2;Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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175 formed a council of elders who controlled
623 community affairs and the nomination of new officers.[15]

175 This is the system which seems to be
171 typical of Indian-Spanish towns in Middle and South America.[16] It has been best
621 characterized by Tax for Guatemala,[17] where secular and religious officials are arranged in a hierarchical sequence through which every man is supposed to pass. Those who have thus fulfilled their duties toward the community enter the category of elders and form a council which holds power and controls the giving of offices.

A basic trait in the political system of the Indian village community was the close interrelation of the religious and secular aspects of town organization by having civil officers perform some religious function or by considering certain religious offices prerequisite for the civil.

175 Native religion before the Spanish con-
771 quest was based on a number of gods representing the different natural elements, economic activities, and the social groups formed by kinship and the division of labor
175 (clans, trades, towns, etc.). After the
797 Spanish conquest, Catholicism was forced on the Indians and a Catholic priesthood
[776] replaced the native one. A syncretism of the Indian gods with similar Catholic saints occurred. This replacement or fusion of Indian gods with Catholic saints and also the preservation of pagan festivals by devoting them to the saints were acknowledged and even fostered by the Spanish missionaries.

175 Every Indian community was provided
794 with a church, a priest, and a sexton. There were also two or three chanters and two *fiscales*, old men in charge of calling the Indians to religious services and instruction.[18]

175 Very important in this new religion were
796 the festivals connected with the yearly cycle of Catholic ritual. They were organized by devout individuals who took care of a particular festival and assisted the priest. Civil officers also participated.

178 Part of the native religion not related
771 to the Church rituals survived, because of the considerable community autonomy, mainly as private ceremonies or superstitions relating to technological or life cycle activities (sickness, for instance).

These aspects of unorganized religion

15. Chávez Orozco, 1943, Chapter 2.
16. For Peru, see Mishkin, 1946, 443-448.
17. Tax, 1937, especially 442-444. The question of land tenure, however, is not discussed. For this point, see Wagley, 1941, 56-68.
18. Haring, 1947, 174.

175 for thirty or fifty years at very low rents, so the Indians were actually left without land. This is reported to have happened in about fifty towns.[27]

The above information does not specify which towns lost their lands. The only concrete case cited is that involving the *jefe político* of Uruapan, a district which included several Indian villages. Unfortunately, no more information is available.

At the beginning of the Revolution, then, haciendas were found in the more level and warm areas north of the Sierra and Lake Pátzcuaro, on the southern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, and also south of the present Tarascan region on the slopes toward the hot country. No hacienda has been studied nor is this the environment wherein the changes discussed in this paper take place. The present Tarascan-speaking area has not been dominated by haciendas, but is one of those where the towns of Indian peasants and artisans have survived longer, no matter what changes in land tenure occurred within the village.

The main reason for the preservation of Indian communities seems to be that this area was less desirable for the hacienda type of exploitation. The mountainous character, forests, and cold climate did not make it suitable for the introduction of cattle or cash crops in large estates.[28]

The necessary background for our problem refers to the developments within the Indian villages in relation to the haciendas and to the individualization of land tenure as it took place from the late nineteenth century to the present time.

The changes within the surviving Indian towns can be described from two points of view: (a) disrupting factors making for conflict within the village and breaking the solidarity of the villagers against outsiders; (b) the basic conservatism of the villages, i. e., the survival of fundamental economic conditions which tend to preserve the existence and internal solidarity of the villages.

The main disrupting factor is that of property differences within the village. As pointed out by Tannenbaum[29] for Mexico at large, the villages do not have sufficient land for the needs of all their inhabitants, and considerable differences as to property in land exist within the community, some people owning an adequate amount (according to local standards of living), some

27. Castillo, 1915, 144-5; also cited in Phipps, 1925, 119-120.
28. West, 1948, 17.
29. Tannenbaum, 1929, 86-90.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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tzen[42] and Jarácuaro. This was particularly the case in towns near haciendas to which they had lost their lands, as, for instance, in the villages on the southern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro. Work in those haciendas was essential to the livelihood of the villages.[43]

These differences in wealth within the villages were responsible for the splitting of the villages into opposite parties in relation to the conflicts unleashed by the Revolution, which will be described below. No matter how violent this conflict became at times, it should always be kept in mind that these disrupting factors were never more than a tendency. The concentration of property was not large enough to lead to the formation of haciendas, and the village as a functioning economic unit was not destroyed. There are other factors, relating to land tenure and agricultural methods, to which can be ascribed the basic conservatism of the villages which still keeps the community together.

Practically every village has some communal lands left. Permanent agricultural lands are still communal in only five of the ten Cañada villages. There, title to the land is held by the town, but within the town private property prevails, and land can be inherited and sold among villagers.[44] Some other towns have, besides the individually owned lands, communal croplands which are worked in common, usually by the landless farmers, their produce going in part to the workers, in part to the town.[45] Forest land is communal everywhere, and all villagers have the right to gather wood or to farm temporary clearings. Only recently (in the 1930's), have the Federal Forest Laws required the payment of a tax and securing of a permit for those activities.[46]

Although cultivated lands are privately owned the agricultural technique demands the cooperation of the whole community. Beals thus describes this system in Cherán:

"The so-called 'plains' consist of several large areas, subdivided in numerous privately owned plots. Maize and wheat are the principal crops grown. The 'plains' are cultivated in alternate years under supervision of the town government. Harvest dates are fixed by the town council; after the final date, the 'plains' become community pasture. Fencing of individual plots is not permitted, nor is planting in consecutive

42. Beals, 1946, 61.
43. León, 1934, 155.
44. West, 1948, 32-33.
45. Loc. cit.
46. West, 1948, 23; Beals, 1946, 21, 59, 60; Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 279; Foster, 1948, 170-1.

241 years. Therefore, men who own land in only
311 one 'plain' plant only every other year. Conse-
621 quently, everyone tries to have land in at least
two 'plains'."[47]

Similarly in Jarácuaro, the whole island is divided into two sections which are alternately cultivated.

West describes this system as general in the Sierra.[48]

[609] Given this system of cultivation, the resistance against selling land to outsiders is easily understandable as all farmers have to work in close agreement. Any outsider using his land in a different way would disrupt the whole system.

This question of disintegrative versus
452 conservative tendencies within the villages
621 can also be discussed in relation to a sub-
438 sistence economy or a market economy. No
433 doubt, in proportion as production is for consumption within the village, the easier it is for the community to hold its own against disrupting influences; the more it is intended for a larger market, the more likely it is that outside influences will penetrate the life of the community.

439 The connection of any Tarascan village
433 economy, whether agricultural or depending on crafts, to the national and world markets is undisputed and has been set forth clearly.[49] Part of the agricultural products, practically all handicrafts, and a sizable amount of labor are sold out by producers, while most consumption goods are bought from outside, with the exception of part of the food (housing and clothing to a much lesser extent). However, production of food, mainly corn for the villagers' own consumption, is basic to the economy of the villages and their relation to the national economy. This fact determines their attitude toward land and corn.

423 Land is the most desired form of property
435 and the safest way of investing money, because of the security it will give as a source
[185] of corn. The ability to produce one's own corn is the supreme aspiration of every farmer.

433 An analysis of agricultural economics
241 shows that farming on poor land in Cherán (a prosperous farming town) and Tzintzuntzan is done at a loss; that is, production costs (equipment, taxes, labor, etc.) are greater than the value of the crop.[50] Owners of such lands could earn more by hiring out as laborers than by working their own fields.[51] This way of farming

47. Beals, 1946, 30.
48. West, 1948, 39.
49. Beals, 1946, 58-9; Foster, 1948, 145-6, 289-90.
50. Foster, 1948, 76-8, table 14; Beals, 1946, 65-6.
51. Foster, 1948, 78.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.22b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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423 folk culture: some remaining communal
181 property; small private land holdings to a great extent devoted to a subsistence economy; survival of old agricultural techniques and handicrafts.

In spite of this conservatism, however,
182 the decline of the village community goes
423 on. The concentration of land in haciendas, the main process by which the village com-
621 munities tended to disappear, has been checked. But other disruptive tendencies operate within the village: small holdings are insufficient for the growing population; there is a surplus of labor which the national economy is unable to employ; the decay of handicrafts goes on due to industrial competition; the loss of the remaining communal lands of the villages continues although under different forms. The agrarista seizure of communal lands for their exclusive use implies the decay of the communal ownings of the village. The government's restrictions on the use of forests or
[656] the formation of cooperatives to exploit the woods further diminishes the communal holdings of the villages.

Thus, in the economic sphere a basic conservatism is coupled with the pressure of disruptive tendencies which continually make the situation of the village community difficult without, however, being able to break it completely. The same contradiction is to be found in the developments taking place in religion.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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796 Different towns have reputations for
giving dances in which they excel, and
535 these are taken to other places. Lately,
through secularization, dances are performed on non-religious occasions: for instance, the Moors and Christians from Ihuatzio and the Old Men from Cucuchucho performed in Tzintzuntzan to commemorate the establishment of the municipio.[13]

796 The organization of the festivals adds
further elaboration for the ceremonials. In the case of sponsorships *(mayordomías)* in which the image of the saint is kept in the house of the sponsor *(mayordomo)* the moving of the image from house to house or to the church is also an occasion for celebration. The cargueros usually prepare a banquet for other officials, civil or religious, and for the participants in the dances. These obligations are met with some help from relatives and are occasions for exchange of property. Music is played and the dances are performed in courtyards of the houses of cargueros and dancers. The change of cargueros, including petitioning for office and changing officials, further adds to the celebration.[14]

178 These affairs are presently in an ad-
vanced stage of secularization. Their social
796 and entertainment value is often greater
than the religious. Dances are popular as amusements, perhaps more than anything else, the mythical meaning being in many
[541] cases obscure. Major festivals have many other entertainments such as fireworks *(castillo)* or bull riding *(jaripeo)*.

796 Also very important is the connection
with trade. On great festivals a market is
517 held and people come in pilgrimage, combining their duties with trade transactions. The meeting of people for religious celebrations and market brings further entertainment as occasions to meet friends and relatives and to get drunk. And for the young people it is an occasion to meet and for courtship. Every town has a major fiesta, usually although not always that of the patron saint, which draws people from many villages.[15]

The Traditional Organization of the Cult

794 The organization of the cult among Mexi-
● 621 can Indians has always been closely connected with the political and social organization of the communities.

13. Foster, 1948, 186.
14. For instance Beals, 1946, 133–4.
15. A list of each town's main festival is given in Juchari anápu, 1945.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.26 b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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● 621 The particular form which the Indian communities took among the Tarascans may have been influenced by Vasco de Quiroga, Bishop of Michoacan from 1538 to 1565, who seems to have followed in part the ideas of Thomas More's *Utopia*.[16] He tried to organize every Indian town around a so-called *hospital*. These were not only to take care of the sick but to organize the whole economic, social and religious life of the community. In Quiroga's ordinances, hospital is really the same thing as Indian community. Members of the hospital held all land in common. Every member was assigned a plot for his own use and also worked in the communal lands, the produce equally distributed among the commoners or devoted to the support of the needy (widows, orphans, the sick and incapacitated). Surplus produce was sold and the amount thus earned kept in a box under the care of three officers of the hospital who rendered an account every year. The heads of families democratically elected the officers of the hospital. Every hospital had as its patron the Virgin of the Conception, and a sodality *(cofradía)* with funds of its own attended to her cult. Many other religious activities were also organized by the hospital. Bishop Quiroga has also been credited with the introduction of new handicrafts in different towns, each specializing in a different activity.[17] The extent to which Bishop Quiroga succeeded in putting his ordinances into practice and the outcome of the hospitales deserve careful investigation.

Quiroga was not the only one to establish hospitales in Indian towns. Both Franciscan and Augustinian Friars founded a number of them, although Michoacan was the region of New Spain where they were of greater extent and importance. The first hospitales in Michoacan have been attributed to a Franciscan, Juan de San Miguel, and the primacy of Quiroga has been disputed.[18] The greater functions of the hospitales in organizing the whole life of the village seem to be peculiar to Quiroga's plans and this is the subject which requires more investigation. The basic traits of Quiroga's hospitales, however, are the same as those of other Indian villages in the rest of colonial Mexico: communal ownership of land; town specialization in trades; more or less democratic organization of the town government and cult; and

16. Zavala, 1937.
17. Zavala, 1937; León, 1906, 301-2, who quotes Moreno, a biographer of Quiroga.
18. Ricard, 1933, 188-194.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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175 621 the close interrelation of civil and religious offices. These basic traits are well documented for Michoacan. The economic aspects have been mentioned previously. The political-religious organization will presently be examined and the organization of the hospitales as they actually functioned will be sketched on the basis of eighteenth century reports,[19] but also using survivals into modern times.

175 476 Besides the hospital proper to take care of the sick, there seems to have been a building called the *guatapera* (Spanish from Tarascan) where the communal work, mainly cooking, was done to attend to the various needs of the establishment, and a chapel of the Virgin of the Conception, patroness of the hospital.

175 794 The cult of the Virgin and other religious activities were the most important functions of the hospital. From this is derived the Tarascan name for hospital, *iuuíso* (Virgin's chapel). As Quiroga provided, a

175 794 sodality *(cofradía)* attended to her cult. Cofradías are societies of the faithful devoted, organized to attend to some aspect of

575 cult or charity. They formed an important part of the cult organization in Spain and were introduced into Spanish America. In one form or another they have left an im-

175 print on modern Indian-Spanish cultures.

794 This sodality of the Virgin was the dominant element of the hospital in the eight-

575 eenth century, and all others were subordinate to it. Reports from that period more

621 often called the whole organization 'cofradía of the Virgin' than hospital. It can

743 be said that at that time hospital was not that all-embracing institution Quiroga had planned, but rather a sodality for the cult of the Virgin which also took care of the sick and had other secondary activities.

An important characteristic of the hospital in Michoacan was its all-inclusive nature. The cofradía was not a restricted group of people within the community, as was the case in Spanish and a few Indian settlements, but the whole Indian village formed the brotherhood. Thus, it was really the main, although not the only, village organization to provide for religious activities.

The function of the hospital was to finance and organize the cult of the Virgin, although it also participated in other celebrations. For this purpose it depended on cofradía property, individual contributions from members at large and officials in particular. The officials took care of the com-

19. See discussion of sources in the Introduction.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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794 mon property of the cofradía, collected con-
575 tributions and made their own donations.
Thus they financed and organized the main
621 religious festivals of the community and
attended to the upkeep of the priest and
743 his household. The function of taking care
175 of the sick, which can be supposed to have
given the name to *hospital*, was still met in
some villages but not mentioned in others,
and seems to have been of relatively lesser
importance. More important was attend-
ing to the proper burial of the dead and
holding mass for their souls.

175 The hospital had a number of yearly
elected officers. The *prioste* was the head
624 authority. He took care of the festivals of
the Virgin and prayed for the masses for
743 the dead. Under him was the *mayordomo del hospital*, or in Tarascan, *kẽŋi*. He shared
with the prioste the charge of the festivals
of the Virgin and as head of the *semaneros*
took care of the material side of the organi-
zation. The semaneros, or weekly officers,
were Indians from every section of the vil-
lage who attended the hospital by turns
weekly and attended to preparing food and
taking care of the sick.

175 To care for the Virgin there were a num-
778 ber of female officers, sometimes young
girls, other times older women; they were
624 most commonly called *roseras* (Spanish) or *huananches* (Spanish from Tarascan), al-
though other names were used depending
on their specific duties. They took care of
the image and altar of the Virgin, carried
the image and banners in processions, and
provided flowers, candles and incense.

175 These officers were found in most villages
for which there is information.[20] Many
624 differences in detail existed from town to
town, mainly in the particular festival
796 each one of these officers sponsored and in
the nature of the contributions to any
given festival. The officers attended to the
festivals of the Virgin such as Conception,
Asumption, and Candlemas, and also to
weekly Saturday services followed by a
procession of the image through the court-
yard. They also intervened in the organi-
zation and financing of other festivals,
mainly Holy Week and Christmas. The
hospital officers were the main contributors
for the support of the priest, and they were
also in charge of collecting and taking the
contributions from the rest of the village to
the priest.

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20. Modern data from Cherán (Beals, 1946, 133), Pichátaro (León, 1906, 425), and Jarácuaro (field notes), show another officer called colector as the main authority, superior to the prioste. He is not mentioned in older reports.

2;Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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624 ficers (*regidor* in Chilchota, *alcalde* and *regidor* in Angahuan)[44] indicate that they were civil authorities, but the duties of those officers are today purely religious. It seems that with changes in local administration the old civil offices, instead of disappearing, were kept because of their religious obligations and became members of the unofficial group of cargueros organizing the cult.

794 The nineteenth century in Mexico has seen conflict between the Church and the
175 State. This undoubtedly influenced the local cult organization. Unfortunately, not enough material is available and further investigation is necessary. Before the separation of Church and State, the Government, whose approval of the Bishop's *aranceles* was necessary, tried to reduce the church fees and to suppress other kinds of tribute which the Indian had to pay to the priest. Two of the *pindecuarios* (Coeneo and San Francisco) have been published by radical authors of attacks against the Church.[45] The different aranceles in effect in Michoacan have been mentioned by León.[46] By the law of April 1857, the fees were suppressed for the poor, and personal services for the priest, together with all other special contributions, were abolished.[47]

Shortly thereafter, the separation of Church and State took place. It is supposed that this also helped the separation of religious and civil functions in the villages, but no direct data are available on the effect of national policies on the local organization of Indian communities in Michoacan.

621 In spite of these changes, which occurred during the nineteenth century, the organization of conservative Tarascan towns is still very similar to the old. The following short outline will point out the main changes and will provide a basis on which to describe modern trends of change.

The close union of Church and State in colonial Mexico corresponded in the local culture to the organization of the hospital offices and council of elders, which connected the civil government and the church organization. As a result of the separation of Church and State, and the new civil administration, the political and religious organization of Tarascan villages consists, on the one side, of the new civil

44. Beals, 1946, 215, 216, 143.
45. Ocampo, 1900; Rivera, 1868.
46. León, 1904, 434 ff.
47. Pérez, 1926, 181-3.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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621 officers mentioned above, whose religious duties are few, and on the other, of the priest and his aides.

624 The traditional organization based on the hospitales survives with the same officers as of old, under the name of *cabildo*, but 794 it has lost many of its connections with the civil government and the priest. It is a group of cargueros, officers who organize certain festivals entirely through their own resources, help the priest in the maintenance of his household and the church, and name the next cargueros. The importance of this cabildo in the village is variable. In some places it is still the main religious body, as in Angahuan,[48] while in others it has receded and almost disappeared, as in Tzintzuntan, where it is called *cargueros de la kengueria*.[49] Cherán represents an intermediate stage, with the cabildo losing much of its former importance. The attitude of the local priest in relying on local customs or doing without them in the organization of his household and church is an important factor in determining the importance of the cabildo (or of similar cargueros) at any given moment.

There are other groups (*mayordomías*) sponsoring the cult of various saints; they are independent of each other and of the town government. The expenses are met individually by each mayordomo, who is replaced when an individual asks for his position (usually to fulfil a vow) either of the priest or of the outgoing mayordomo or owners of the saint. The civil authorities also intervene in the organization of the church aspects of some festivals and they name commissioners to organize them.

793 The local priest takes care of the liturgical celebrations. For their organization 794 and church upkeep he can rely on the traditional cabildo or he can name commissioners when the occasion requires it. Also under his direction are a number of religious societies whose members engage primarily in acts of devotion and have few obligations as to the festivals or their expenses. The priest can also give the mayordomía of a saint belonging to the church.[50]

794 Communal property for the cult of the saints is practically non-existent. The financing and organization can be done either by the individual sponsor (carguero) who assumes all obligations personally or

48. Beals, 1946, 143.
49. Foster, 1949, 201-2.
50. Beals, 1946, 119; Foster, 1948, 203-204.

2;Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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5

CONCLUSIONS

128 The arrangement followed in the presentation of this material was imposed by the nature of the data. Sources for the different periods or for the national or local scenes were unequal. Thus it was necessary to examine each topic separately (economics and politics, cult organization, ideology) as it changed during the period considered rather than to follow, through successive historical stages, all the topics of Tarascan culture under discussion. A presentation of the latter sort will be attempted in this summary of conclusions.

185 177 For a point of departure we took the folk culture of the Indian communities formed during the colonial period by a blend of Spanish and Indian cultures. This culture is typical of the colonial period but its basic elements often survived into much later times, and even to the present in marginal areas. These communities were integrated with the economy of Mexico by paying tribute (or taxes), by the market, and by providing laborers for enterprises outside the local community. A great degree of economic autonomy, however, provided in each town a basis for the distinctive folk culture. It was characterized by communal landownership, agricultural techniques based on local resources and requiring the cooperation of all the villagers, the importance of household crafts, little differentiation as to wealth among the villagers, and production, for the most part, for consumption within the village or for the local market.

105 621 The local government organs were under the ultimate control of higher national authorities, but had a wide range of autonomy.

771 Catholicism, the state religion, was also the religion of the local community, and the priest was supported by the village with the sanction of the State. But an important part of religion was peculiar to the [796] local folk culture: unorganized rites around technological and life cycle activities, and also what we call folk Catholicism, folk acts of the cult, mainly festivals to the saints. A number of officers sponsoring and organizing these festivals were closely connected with the local government. 794 Cult financing was provided for by the produce or commun[illegible]roperty devoted to

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.576] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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CONCLUSIONS

794 religious expenses or by contributions from all the villagers as a group or from an individual sponsor.

771 Religious ideology in this period must have had a considerable number of ideas related to the unorganized religion, probably non-ethical and based on the personification of Nature. The Catholic ideology dominated, however. Ethical in character, it sanctioned such folk culture values as the family, small property, the Indian way of life and proper observance of the folk cult. But it also sanctioned national institutions: support of the priest and the Church and the national order which the Church in its turn supports.

621 178 These communities began to decline in the face of other growing segments of the society (primarily the haciendas), and tendencies disrupting the folk culture became evident within the communities. Forces for change were active from early colonial times in advanced areas but at a much later date in backward areas such as parts of the Tarascan region. They became strongest with the capitalist development of Mexico at the end of the nineteenth century.

423 182 178 The loss of Indian lands to haciendas diminished the importance of the Indian communities within the country. Within the Indian communities the economic impact of this development caused the abolition of communal property and the more complete individualization of landownership, the decline of crafts, more work on outside farms, increased dependency on the market, and wealth differences among the villagers.

771 After the separation of Church and State, the old system of organizing the religious cult no longer had State sanction. With new systems of local government the religious officers became less connected with the civil. Cult financing came to be done almost exclusively through personal contributions by sponsors, and, given the changing economic order, it constituted a burden which often led to impoverishment and the loss of land.

[794]

[775]

182 178 The factors disrupting the folk culture are evident in the folk ideology as it condemns money and wealth. With increased dependence on the outside world came

Vol 191 that a new upward trend has been established. On the other hand, there has been a considerable increase in the population of the Sierra and Lake towns since 1750, which probably accounts for the level curve during the 19th century, in spite of drastic areal recession in speech during that period (fig. 2). Today areal recession is still in progress, but actual numbers of Tarascans appear to be increasing. The question is: Can the growth in number of Tarascan-speaking children continue to exceed or equal that of the children (of Tarascan speaking parents) who fail to learn the language or cease to use it in later life? Assuming equal rates of infant mortality and similar health facilities for both groups, it would appear that, owing to cultural changes now in progress within the Tarascan area, the indigenous speech will eventually dis-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 24b—ANALYST]

TARASCAN

Settlements

361 621 The early Spanish adventurers and friars found Tarascans living (like many sedentary Indians of the New World) in agglomerated settlements, the larger of which the Spaniards called pueblos, the smaller, *rancherías* or *estancias*. The pueblo and the *ranchería* (*rancho*) have remained the basic units of settlement in the Tarascan area, as in most parts of Mexico.[11] In size present Tarascan [162] pueblos range from 200 to 3,400 inhabitants; the ranchos, from 9 to 900. Invariably the modern indigenous ranchos are offspring settlements from a pueblo nearby. For instance, the 11 ranchos on the southern and eastern slopes of Cerro de Patamban were formed by families, which for political or economic (land) reasons, left the mother pueblo, Pamatácuaro. Sirío, a former *rancho* of Pamatácuaro, was made a pueblo and *tenencia* ca. 1926, its name being changed to Jesús Díaz. By such a process agglomerated settlements begin and develop. Moreover, the *ranchos* on the Tarí-uk'éri Peninsula, Lake Pátzcuaro, were founded 50 or 60 years ago by fisher-

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM P. 24b—ANALYST]

[634] [11] Although in general these two types of settlement are differentiated by size, the terms "pueblo" and "rancho" have acquired political connotations. From the point of view of State and Federal Governments the basic political unit in Mexico is the municipio, which may contain many pueblos and ranchos. Usually the largest pueblo within this political unit is named the *cabecera*, or chief administrative town. The affairs of the *cabecera* and those of the municipio as a whole are administered by a *presidente* or mayor. The remaining pueblos in the municipio are regarded as *tenencias*, each headed by a *jefe*. The ranchos are dependencies of certain pueblos, local authority being vested in the *diputado de orden*. Upon obtaining sufficient size, prestige, or political influence, a pueblo may be elevated to the rank of villa or even *ciudad*. Because of historical prestige small (1,877 mestizo inhabitants) Tzintzuntzan holds the title of *ciudad*. Such rank, however, in no way changes the political function of the town.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 24-b]

appear. Such cultural changes—improved transportation, more frequent contact with modern life, increased educational facilities both within the pueblos and in the large towns outside, the Government alphabetization program—all aid to increase the use of Spanish and to decrease the use of Tarascan. Such factors influence especially the younger generation. Today the young people (5 to 20 years old) of many pueblos have not learned Tarascan, and often those who know the language speak Spanish by preference. Moreover, as indicated above, mestizo merchants are still moving into the Tarascan market towns and in such centers intermarriage of Indian and mestizo continues; the offspring of such unions rarely learn the indigenous tongue.

TARASCAN SETTLEMENTS

men from adjacent islands of Janitzio and Lo Pacanda. On the other hand, the mestizo *ranchos* now found in the Sierra are the product of migration of farmers and political refugees from the outside. One of these, Arato, was established soon after the struggle for independence in 1810, and in the 1930's was given the title of pueblo with *tenencia* status.

Other types of settlement in modern Tarasca include the lumber camp (*aserradero*), an ephemeral agglomeration of workmen's huts around the sawmill. Such settlements disappear after surrounding exploitable timber has been depleted. In 1946 there were but three lumber camps in the entire Sierra. In addition, a minor form of dispersed settlement is sometimes found in the Sierra; occasionally a woodcutter and his family live permanently in an isolated house on a forested mountain slope and visit the nearest pueblo only to market products, buy supplies, and attend fiestas.

Settlement sites.—The few available early descriptions of the Tarascan area indicate the existence of many more Indian settlements during the 16th century than at present.[23] This was particularly true in the Sierra, where small agglomerations (*estancias* or *rancherías*) were numerous. Such settlements were scattered on

[23] The early sources which mention former settlements in the Tarascan area include the available Relaciones Geográficas, 1579-81 (Mss. Nac., leg. 103); various late 16th-century documents concerning labor and associated problems in Zavala and Castello (1938-48); many documents concerning the congregations of 1596-1605 found in AGN Congregaciones and Tierras.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 32 a]

342 177 within or near pine forests. By 1789 most of the buildings in Tarascan towns in the Lake and Sierra regions were roofed with shakes (map 18). Today in the towns bordering the Sierra the red Castilian tile has completely replaced *tejamanil* and is slowly penetrating into the Sierra towns.[43]

THE LAND SYSTEM AND THE PUEBLO

621 423 Tarascan settlements are fundamentally agricultural villages. They include not only dwellings arranged along streets and in house lots, but also the surrounding farm land. The land is the body of the pueblo, whose political and economic life revolves around land ownership and boundaries, crop planting and harvesting.

423 311 Few records exist on the ancient Tarascan land system; most lands, however, were probably held in common. Each community owned surrounding lands, the limits of which were determined by metes and bounds; the record and adjudication of pueblo boundaries were in the hands of the village chief, who apportioned agricultural plots to his subjects.[44] As in many modern Indian areas of Mexico, the aboriginal concept of village lands and their established boundaries is indurated in the present political and economic structure of the Tarascan pueblos.[45] Such holdings in the Sierra include various types of land: *monte*, or woodland pasture on steep mountain slopes and on lava flows; cropland in basin floors (*planes*, t'pákua), on lower mountain slopes (*laderas*, uanáten), and in craters of cinder cones (*joyas*, t'pákua-supíču). In La Cañada often the following lands are held by a given pueblo: irrigable alluvium on the valley floor, *temporal* lands and *monte* on the adjacent slopes, and *humedad* lands in the Sierra. In the Lake area types of land vary from pueblo to pueblo. Often small strips of irrigable vegetable plots are held along the lake shore; most towns hold *temporal* land on the lower slopes; those on

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[43] Although used in most Spanish towns (except mining centers) in New Spain since the late 16th century, tiles began to appear in the Lake Pátzcuaro district only in the late 18th century. In 1789 Pátzcuaro was the only town in the vicinity with tile roofs (approximately 80 percent of the houses were roofed with tile, the remainder, with shakes). In the same year one house in Naranja boasted of a tile roof. (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 295, 313.)

[44] A copy of an aboriginal land title (1519) of Cherantzicurin is extant in AGN Tierras, vol. 967, exped. 3.

[45] In many respects the native land system in central Mexico paralleled that of 16th century Spain. Particularly was this true in regard to the concept of village holdings.

612 more nuclear or bilaterally expanded families enjoying the usufruct of an ejidal plot,
423 five acres of black soil. Such families are corporate, "nonunilineal" descent groups,
66 with a locus of authority, which trace descent bilaterally from a common older relative who first acquired the plot (Goodenough, 1955). Almost all of the 218 ejidal plots are controlled by such families. They act as a block in politics and are represented by one head who votes at ejidal meetings.[2] The representatives of such ejidal families also dominate in the civil government since they include more than half the politically active nuclear families and, as a group, also possess the overwhelming mass of the community's wealth in private land. Occasionally a majority at an ejidal meeting will oppose the cacical authority.

592 The household, the third bilateral structure, includes one or more nuclear or bilat-
66 erally expanded families living in one or more adobe houses around one backyard. The majority of households contain ejidal families. The male members of a household, welded together by shared domestic and agricultural experiences, support each other during the ongoing political schisms and realignments; the members of a household operate as a block, which, unlike the nuclear family, can be divided by situational determinants.

612 The bilateral kindred also has a political function. Certain members of an individual's
66 bilateral kindred, especially ambilateral uncles and nephews, and first cousins, are selected through the interaction of certain variables, such as ward residence. They function, among other things, as a politically supporting nucleus around every individual. The first agrarian cacique, for example, was principally supported by six first and second cousins, and the principal bastions of the present-day cacique are five (six till 1954) second- and third-degree nephews. In critical political situations this kindred stands firm.

● 621 A final type of bilateral structure divides the community into five large and several
612 minor political "families," each with a core of ten to thirty men sharing a patronymic,
66 plus a much larger associated group related to the core through blood and marriage, or simply affiliated through choice. Though the principles of alignment to these groups are numerous and flexible, all politically active men at any time belong to just one "family," and politics is conceived of by the villagers as struggles between such "families." They are the maximal political blocks within the village. A major event in Duranzo political history was the exodus in 1935 of over thirty nuclear families belonging to one huge political "family." Informal political organization in the community is thus largely a special function of various bilateral kinship structures. These structures also partially define the structure of the cacicazgo itself. The cacique and his principal followers are each the focus of overlapping nuclear and ejidal families and bilateral kindreds, and they all belong to one of the large political "families."

608 Two other primary relations possess important political functions: ceremonial kinship
64 and friendship. Ceremonial kinship is the compadre relationship between parents and godparents, formed on the occasion of baptism. The tie is stronger than that obtaining between first cousins and analogous to that of siblings. The compadre bond surrounds every adult male with four to seven trusted and loyal age mates with whom he has grown up and who are usually his social equals in this "horizontal system" (Mintz and Wolf, 1950). A political leader planning an assassination must reckon with the automatic if not immediate retaliation by some of his victim's compadres. Since good "fighters" tend to be related as compadres, a homicidal act against one of them may unleash a swift counterattack. In 1939 two gunmen who unsuccessfully ambushed a leader of the ruling faction were hunted down and shot to death within three hours by the friends and compadres of their victim. Individuals tend to vote and to ally themselves politically

571 largely in terms of the normal and special political functions of kinship, ceremonial kin-
66 ship, and friendship. But the cacical association is more than the concatenation of these social structures; it is a distinct political entity with its own patterns of action and its unique goal of power over the community.

667 Let us now turn to these distinctive workings of the cacicazgo. Political sovereignty is exercised primarily by the cacique and his inner core of relatives and friends--eight men in all. They are more or less supported by some twenty lesser leaders. Political matters are informally discussed at length by the leaders and some of the citizens at large. Important policy decisions are made at special meetings, sometimes secretly convened, after a partial decision has been previously reached. Important legal cases are likewise resolved before the court opens by the inner core leaders, especially by the oldest nephew of the cacique. Political decisions at the special meetings are generally by majority vote, but often a majority of the inner eight is enough, and in extreme cases the cacique imposes his will alone. The matters dealt with in special meetings and conversations between the inner leaders are primarily the following: all land distribution questions, public works (especially irrigation problems), the making up of the ballots for formal office, and reprisals against enemies and the quashing of nascent interest groups. Effective government is informal, and a description solely in terms of formal political institutions would miss the main point of Durazno politics.

The informal structure of one cacical group in Durazno has always been paralleled by that of a contending or fallen party with its would-be cacique, secret meetings, and the same patterns of organization. At some times, as during 1927, the two parties have been equal in strength. At other times, as in 1956, the fallen party has contained only [621] an aging leader with a pathetic kinship nucleus and some twenty followers. Durazno, like villages all over Michoacan, has a normal pattern of two or more contending factions, each related independently and informally to other villages and higher structures.

186 The ethnic factor is often important here. During the agrarian period (1921-26),
578 Durazno and the two other agrarian Indian villages of the valley fought together against the mestizo hirelings and Spanish landlords. A major turning point in Durazno political
563 and cultural history came when opposing Indian factions within the village began using mestizo neighbors against their own "blood." The village agrarian caciques have themselves always been culturally marginal, participants in both Tarascan and mestizo culture. They feel a high ambivalence in both directions: partial rejection of their Indian followers, resentment toward mestizos, and different kinds of identification with both groups.

The village leaders, as political "middlemen" (Wolf, 1956), relate the political demands and supplies of their constituents to the partially complementary demands and supplies of the higher echelons, of the Cardenas machine in the case of Michoacan. In the case of two strong contending factions, both are separately related to two contesting state-wide structures, as during the "serratista" period from 1932 to 1934. The indigenous, factional structure of the village, with its qualities of an ongoing clan vendetta, is sensitively and immediately connected to national "theoretical" questions such as the "decollectivization of the ejidal patrimony" (1925). The national problems translate downward into specific blood-and-soil-issues.[3] The political relation between national structures and nerve-center villages like Durazno is constant and often direct; the Indian cacique goes straight to Mexico City to confer with the national party chairman.

632 The formal government in Durazno is divided between the civil and ejidal arms. The
661 three civil officers enjoy slightly more prestige and pervasive power in the community organization and the arbitration of legal cases, while the four ejidal posts are the more

8: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

mercial transactions and specialized production for sale outside the region), whereas the women, mostly sequestered in their homes, remain conservative, and consequently more "Indian-like." The responses may, however, represent a real sex differential, i.e., more women than men native to the community — with men from elsewhere marrying into the community. In 201 matings where data on the birthplace of both spouses were available, both were from Paracho in 72.6 per cent of cases, 10 per cent of the husbands were from elsewhere, 8.5 per cent of the wives were from other communities, and in 9 per cent of cases both were born elsewhere. Slightly more men than women, therefore, do marry into the community, but this difference is not large enough to explain the sex difference in ethnic attribution.

TABLE 1

"RACE" OF FATHER AND "RACE" OF MOTHER

Mothers reported as	Fathers reported as Indian	Fathers reported as Mestizo	Total
Indian	130	33	163
Mestiza	16	61	77
Total	146	94	240[5]

x^2 with one degree of freedom: 300.28 $P < 0.0001$

Whereas sex of the parents does influence the responses, sex of the respondents seems to have virtually no effect. Females reported 66.9 per cent of 139 parents to be Indian, whereas males reported 63.5 per cent of 386 parents to be Indian. The difference is not statistically significant.

When the data taken from the record sheets are compiled in terms of the age of the respondent (see Table 2) another tendency may be noted. Both relatively and absolutely more Indian parents are reported by older respondents. Those 40 years old or less reported 48 per cent of fathers and 54 per cent of mothers to be Indian, in contrast to 73 per cent and 76 per cent respectively by individuals who were 41 years old or over. Conversely, of course, the percentage of Mestizo parents is approximately the same as that of Indian parents through the 40 year age group, but thereafter the proportions change markedly and membership in the Mestizo group is claimed for far fewer parents.

These age trends may be interpreted in several ways. First, the younger informants, in ascribing to their parents membership in one or the other ethnic group, may reflect an awareness that their current way of life is less Indian than it is Mestizo, and may extend this to their parents. With more education and a wider outlook one would expect to find among youth a greater bias toward being counted as belonging to a larger ethnic entity than that of the region, and to the ethnic group with a somewhat higher education — the Mestizo in both instances. On the other hand, the marked

[5] Some variation in total number from table to table results from the fact that not all respondents gave information on all points. Furthermore, where data on parents rather than on respondents are tabulated information from only one sibling interviewed is included.